FELLOWSHIP

September 1947 — Vol. XIII—No. 8

IN THIS ISSUE

Apostate Christendom

By R. EDIS FAIRBAIRN

The Fellowship in Latin America

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

The CIO and Race

By WILLARD UPHAUS

Return to Germany

By F. SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE

Toward a World Consciousness

By MARSHALL HODGSON

20 cents a copy

$2.00 a year

FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

A FRIEND OF MINE, vacationing on a ranch in Arizona, writes:

"Here it is difficult to have any curiosity about news, as we think of it—namely, a mass of detail, most of it transitory. Here one builds up unconsciously a resistance to the innumerable irritations, such as telephone strikes and political intrigues. Perhaps it would not be good if the whole country were built on such indifference, but it is a most healthy state of mind to be exposed to . . . .

"Perhaps it would not be good. . . ." Why not, I ask myself here on the Maine seacoast? My friend and I are far separated from one another. She sees the vast open spaces of the land, as I of the ocean. She communes with ranchers and cowboys as I with farmers and fishers. ("These people," she writes, "are the foundation and backbone of this country"). But we look upon the same skies, watch the same stars, listen to the same quiet—and discover the same truths forgotten in the hurly-burly of city life.

There is relativity, for example—that sense of proportion which shows the triviality of men's squabbles as set over against the horizon of the world. These strikes and contentions and wars—what are they all but so many "irritations," like passing itches upon the skin? In a few years we will not be able to remember what we are so furiously debating at this hour, and in a few decades historians will be sifting the dust and ashes for some clue as to what it was all about. Which means that men are disputing and competing, and will ultimately be killing and dying, over matters of no permanent concern! One thinks of the story of Emerson coming out of a raging abolition meeting in Boston, and looking up at the everlasting stars, and exclaiming, "Why so hot, little man, why so hot?"

Then there is the sense of order which seeps into the heart as one lives close to nature. Everything moves with such precision! The "stars come nightly to the sky," suns rise and set at appointed hours, the seasons proceed in a succession that never varies. It is man only who knows confusion. If there be disorder, it is of his making. For in the cosmos dwells serenity which not even storms can shake. Matthew Arnold felt this serenity in nature, and exclaimed of the wheeling planets:

"Unaffrighted by the silence round them,
Undistracted by the sights they see,
These demand not that the things around them
Yield them love, amusement, sympathy."

And beauty—how it ravishes our gaze! To get away from all the ugliness of man's handiwork in city or town, and see how beauty unfolds its loveliness in the realm of nature—this is an experience.

"The frailest leaf, the mossy bark,
The acorn's cup, the raindrop's arc,
The swinging spider's silver line,
The ruby of the drop of wine,
The shining pebble of the pond,
Thou inscribest with a bond,
In thy momentary play,
Would bankrupt nature to repay."

So Emerson, *To Beauty!* And we find these riches only as we seek them afar in woodland, prairie, mountain, and the sea.

SO I AM NOT SO SURE that "It would not be good" for all of us to say "Goodbye, proud world," as Emerson did, and go home after roaming long "through (the) weary crowds." Just imagine that everybody everywhere, as by one common impulse, forgot the social turmoils and political intrigues of the hour. Suppose we all agreed, in all countries, to pay no attention to government any more, but to live only with nature in its unending transition from day to night, summer to winter, and back again. Suppose that each of us, in his own way, followed Thoreau into the woods of Walden and dwelt there in the silences apart. Would this "not be good" for the world? On the contrary, might it not be the one thing the world most needs? Perhaps this would solve our problems—war, for example, which could not be fought for sheer lack of men who were interested enough to fight! The ranch, the sea, the mountains, these may be escapes from life in ways we have not thought.

What we are doing in these "returns to nature" is to return to fundamentals. To discover realities as set over against illusions! Why does my friend speak of the ranchmen and the cowboys as "the foundation and backbone of this country"? Because, with farmers and fishers, they deal not with the shams of an artificial and acquisitive society but with those true principles that hold the world together. To breathe the winds, to watch the flowing and ebbing tides, to measure the transit of the stars, to "go and live with animals," as Whitman craved to do, is to lay one's hand upon the pulse-beat of the universal heart. It is to feel the rhythm of eternity, and therewith to become unconscious of the whirr and whirl of transient things. "The world is too much with us," wrote Wordsworth. Or we too much with it!

It is in these summer days that we discover the evil of our ways and the waste of our powers. I count it, therefore, good that there is this vacation time when we may deliberately cultivate sublime "indifference" to mere current events. Listen!—and we may catch the music of the spheres.

FELLOWSHIP
Published by the
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary*
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE,
International Secretary

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*
BARBARA STEVENS, *Asst. Ed.*

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Devere Allen
Walter Russell Bowie
Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Elisabeth D. Dodds
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
Erna Harris
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2.00 a Year

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

September 1947 — Vol. XIII—No. 8

Subheads

Of the People . . .

"I am returning to civilian life because of the assumption of power by the military in Washington. When we have reached the point when the military is directing instead of supporting this country's policy, we are far along the road to losing what this country has stood for."

—Gen. Merritt A. Edson, USMC, winner of Congressional Medal of Honor in World War II, quoted by Duke Shoop in the *Kansas City Times*.

Dervish

No pacifist would ever say "I told you so," but recent developments offer a great temptation. The iniquitous Potsdam Agreement is being quietly but certainly scrapped. The deindustrialization and pastoralization of Germany, which pacifists protested as not only barbaric but impracticable, has been abandoned as impracticable. (Barbarism is no longer a political liability.) The United States and Britain instead are encouraging the increase of German industrial production, including coal and steel, because European economic recovery is impossible without it, and because it had finally become apparent that the original program would require that America and Britain continue supporting Germany and the rest of Europe indefinitely. This results in the cosmic spectacle of pouring out tremendous effort in the painful and tedious rebuilding of what we recently spent even more effort and wealth painstakingly destroying.

On a lesser scale, the Army has brought out a new pamphlet for its Occupation troops explaining the "good side" of the Germans, who, it turns out, are neither so thoroughly bad nor so thoroughly irredeemable as earlier publications had indicated.

Pattern

These changes in attitude toward Germany might suggest to the uninitiated a considerable change in foreign policy generally, but such is not the case. For the sake of the record, a few pacifist comments about that policy and what it is leading to need to be made.

1. The pattern of power politics now shaping international relations is the same as existed before both world wars. The only difference is that overwhelming power is now concentrated in two nations, so that the tension is more direct and the struggle less subtle.

2. However honeyed the verbalizing, the foreign policy of this country, from atomic bomb control to relief, from the Truman Doctrine to the Marshall Program, is determined finally by this jockeying for power, position, and alliances against Russia. That is why the same principle indignantly demanded for Poland and Hungary can be ruthlessly denied Greece.

3. As in past tragedies, all of this is built on the colossal error of assuming that the "enemy" will be permanently cowed by a show of force. Actually, of course, each new demonstration of power on our part drives Russia to greater exertion, and *vice versa*.

4. As the struggle intensifies, as it must, we must expect to lose everything we are presumably arming to save. Our higher standard of living will be swallowed up by the cost of the world's most stupendous war machine; democracy will disappear in the "need" for a government to act instantly in a crisis; freedom will be lost in a system geared to total war and total distrust. (Bernard Baruch, who has helped direct two wars already, wants Congress to enact legislation *now* mobilizing every man and woman in the country to "work or fight" as directed in the event of war; from there it is only a short step to "preparatory peacetime mobilization.")

5. The war that will be the inevitable result of the continuation of this pattern not only is likely to end our civilization, but will certainly require the abandonment of the last vestiges of national and personal morality, as sanction is given to indiscriminate slaughter of whole populations by atom bombs, germ warfare, and other diabolic devices.

Against that kind of planetary crisis, the United Nations shows up as a feebly transparent delusion. It is too bad that that is so. It is too bad that there is not some dramatic, exciting, easy method, that would catch the popular fancy, of averting this catastrophe, but there is not. Only the simple but difficult lever of good will and repentance, which for Americans as a nation would mean disarmament and initiation of a worldwide economy of abundance, can do the trick.

Through A Glass Darkly

"Remove price controls on manufactured goods and production will step up fast. Goods will then pour into the market and, within a reasonable time, prices will adjust themselves naturally—as they always have—in line with the real worth of things. . . . This is the way you can get the goods you want at prices you can afford to pay."

—From an advertisement of the National Association of Manufacturers, Feb. 20, 1946.

Appreciation

"Uncompensated personnel" of the Selective Service System, who "served the United States . . . in a manner which is an example of patriotism" and which "in many cases has resulted in sacrifices on the part of these citizens" will be rewarded with Certificates of Separation, by virtue of House Joint Resolution 167. A prize of an old 4-E classification card will be sent to the person who sends the best twenty words completing the sentence: "Ex-CPS men will not get certificates because . . ."

Here and There with the Warriors

The U.S. is establishing a "guided missile" testing range, probably at El Centro, Calif. Rockets will be fired for hundreds and perhaps thousands of miles into the Gulf of California and the Pacific.

The Atomic Energy Commission has informed Congress that it is establishing proving grounds for atomic weapons in the Pacific.

A House subcommittee has asked the Department of Justice to stop the War Department from the illegal expenditure of public money to propagandize the country for a universal military training bill.

Nationalist China, waging continuous war with Communist China, is exporting all its tungsten, steel alloy used in making armor-piercing missiles, to Russia, according to *World Report*.

Every Man A Hero

On August 1 the War and Navy Departments began distribution of the Victory Medal and the Defense Medal. The former, costing 48 cents each, goes to those in the armed forces between Pearl Harbor and Dec. 31, 1946; the latter, costing 43 cents, for service between Sept. 8, 1939 and Dec. 7, 1941. The two departments expect to procure at least 11,500,000 medals.

Free Enterprise—Division of Applied Grammatical Construction

"Tell we, the people, how government competes with the free enterprise system, and how they secure their capital from we, the people—by taxes."

—From a full-page advertisement over the signature of E. F. Hutton.

Sloppy-Minded

The Hearst newspapers, in the course of a series of ads designed to expose to an admiring world the perspicacity of their owner, recently pointed out that Mr. Hearst has been calling for universal military training for American youth since 1917.

The lead for this ad is a cartoon showing an armed Swiss standing in a "magic circle" of peace labelled "Swiss System of Democratic Youth Training for National Defense and Peace." The concluding paragraph announces that the Hearst papers "will continue to expose the Communists, the professional pacifists . . . and all other subversive or sloppy-minded groups who oppose this patriotic program."

As professional pacifists, we are hurt by the reference to sloppy-mindedness but probably have to bow to the judgment of a master of the art. Certainly nothing less than genius could ascribe Switzerland's peaceful status during the past war to her system of peacetime conscription. For the Hearst papers' information, we pass along a few facts:

1. Practically every nation invaded by the Nazis had compulsory military training.
2. The 1945 contingent of Swiss trainees amounted to 26,000 recruits and 447 officers.
3. Four-fifths of the rail traffic between Italy and Germany passed through the St. Gothard and Simplon tunnels, which the Swiss had mined.
4. Switzerland continued to trade with both Allied and Axis powers, an arrangement that was profitable not only to her but also to Germany.

Most of the above facts, the Hearst papers may be interested to know, appear in an appendix to the Report of the President's Commission on Universal Military Training.

Blessed Are the Peacemakers

"We must accept and practice the teachings of the Nazarene—or else. . . . We must either live in brotherhood or we do not live. . . . And so the great task before us now is the most extraordinary challenge to evangelism since the days of Paul of Tarsus. It is the task of making world brotherhood a reality. To meet this test we must have strength and well-being as individuals, and as a nation. As a nation we must have sufficient military strength to command the continued respect of our brother nations."

—Attorney General Tom C. Clark, to the International Sunday School Convention, Des Moines, July 25, 1947.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The French Foreign Legion is recruiting German youth for fighting in Indo-China.

* * *

According to the *Juneau Empire*, the Fish and Wildlife Service is investigating "reports of collaboration between Russian and American seals" in the Bering Sea.

* * *

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission has announced plans to modernize the town of Los Alamos, for the atomic-bomb workers. Included in the new construction will be a church—presumably Christian.

* * *

The Governor of Georgia has named a retired Dean to his staff as "spiritual aide," with the rank of Colonel.

* * *

Athletes from Germany and Japan will not be permitted to participate in the 1948 Olympic Games.

Apostate Christendom

By R. EDIS FAIRBAIRN*

IT IS THE GROSSER MANIFESTATIONS of the moral quality of western civilization which have driven serious thinkers to a realization that the cause of our defective society is at bottom a defective religion.

Christianity has achieved such a degree of futility that men can be "born again," belong to the church, seek after holiness, support benevolences and charities, live at peace with themselves and die in hope of eternal salvation, without having once glimpsed what Jesus meant by the Kingdom of God, or being confronted with his demand for the practice of his teaching, or realizing what is involved in his teaching.

When deep-seated social evil breaks out in obvious and horrid sores on the body politic some sensitive mind is bound to do something more than turn away in disgust. Alike in regard to black and white slavery, African, American or English, it was not the official heads of the churches, or religious organizations as such, but individuals, either within or outside of the churches, who took steps to rouse the public conscience, usually against the opposition or the inertia of the churches. Today the churches take credit for these social reforms, on the ground that they were the fruit of the Christian spirit. That is, of course, correct. When, however, the original opposition by the churches to these reforms is ignored or forgotten, the claim becomes a constructive falsehood.

Weather-Cock Churches

Before the First World War the conscience of many persons was troubled by the obvious incompatibility between the teachings of Jesus and the institution and practice of war. The churches were, however, hardly touched by this new heresy, and officially approved war, and even recruited for it. When disillusionment became general after World War I, the churches, like the weather-cocks that topped many of their steeples, swung with the change of wind. They did not give leadership; they followed the fashion. For any Christian group to really justify its existence and its name, it would have to be found giving real and strong leadership long before the given insight became popular. That would call for readiness to pay the price of faithfulness, and to proclaim the principles of Jesus in opposition not only to the State, but to the money-power behind the State, and within its own constituency. It is a long time since the Christian Church ever showed that kind of courage.

Most of the churches did express themselves more or less categorically in recognition of the contradiction between Jesus and war. None, I think, did this more explicitly than the United Church of Canada, of which I am a minister. In four pronouncements of increasing force at the General Councils of 1932, 1934, 1936, and 1938 it expressly condemned war. For the record, here they are:

1932. "The United Church of Canada, in General Council assembled, declares its unchanging conviction that war is contrary to the mind of Christ. . . . The General Council calls upon its Ministers and its Members to continue to bear witness to the sin of war. . . ."

1934. "We believe armed warfare between nations to be contrary to the spirit and teachings of Christ, and that it is the duty of the Church to promote a Christian public opinion in opposition to war. . . . (Pointing out that those who refuse military service must be ready to accept the civil consequences of disobedience, and declining to promote or approve the registration of such, the Council delivered itself of the following choice example of ecclesiastical verbiage—) We find ourselves unable to deny that this movement may be the agency through which war may be made impossible. . . ."

1936. "As Christians we reject war, because war rejects love, and because war defies the will of Christ, and denies the worth of man. We must be prepared to follow Christ in turning from war, because it is false and futile and destructive of human personality and spiritual values."

1938. "We reaffirm the stand taken by former General Councils of our Church relative to war. . . . We call the world to repentance and to acceptance of the Christian way."

It has since been argued that nothing said even by a General Council is binding upon the Church unless it is incorporated into the legal Basis of Union, and that is technically correct. It is also true that the General Council is the only court of the Church competent to express the mind of the Church as a whole at any time. The Church did so express its mind, not once on a snap vote, but four times in eight years, and what is more, it has never repudiated or amended these solemn declarations, or attempted in any way to justify its swift right-about-face when war came again.

Official Indignation

A statement, based upon these declarations, drafted to express an individual conviction, was signed by about 150 persons, ministers and lay, and published in the Church press. The intention was to put themselves publicly on record as determined to abide by the Church's own pronouncements. The signers evidently had a suspicion that the Church itself would not do this. Latter events proved the suspicion well founded.

Following the publication of this "Witness Against War" the Attorney General of Ontario sought an interview with the nearest available ex-moderator of the Church. Then the Sub-Executive of the General Council was called together, and issued a statement expressing official indignation at the act of the signatories, denying that they expressed the mind of the Church as a whole, and undertook for the Church

* R. Edis Fairbairn, Minister in the United Church of Canada and FOR member. "Apostate Christendom" is a chapter from his as yet unpublished book by the same title.

to declare loyal support of the King, that is, of the war. There is no doubt that this small committee did express general public feeling, and majority feeling of the Church too. Yet no one could deny that the signatories were standing solidly on the General Council declarations, which only a General Council was competent to alter. Until another General Council made a contrary declaration the signatories beyond question had the authority of any "mind" the Church had, and the Sub-Executive acted in defiance of that "mind."

The Attorney-General of the province of Ontario set one of his minions to work to prepare a case against the signatories, on the ground that the statement was seditious. It was disallowed by the Federal Department of Justice and dropped. The Church dealt with its own rebels in its own way. Some were obliged to resign, or were voted out of, their pastorates by their own congregations. Of these several were squeezed out of the ministry altogether by the effective device of being offered impossible charges. Others were demoted to what are ecclesiastically known as "undesirable charges." Many of the younger members of the Church, made pacifist by the educational effort which the sixth General Council "earnestly requested . . . all ministers to promote, . . . especially among our youth," lost their jobs or laid aside their education to go into detention camps for the duration.

Stony Silence

In the meantime the Church gave itself to vigorous support of war activities. Everybody expected that the next General Council would issue a repudiation of its ante-war anti-war pronouncements, and a reasoned statement in Christian terms justifying its action, and the war.

It is understood that the 1940 General Council did appoint a committee to produce such a statement. For some unstated reason it never reported.

By militarists and pacifists alike the Church has been repeatedly besought to present a statement justifying its action in condemning the endorsers of its own solemn pronouncements, and to show how its members could at the same time avow an allegiance to Jesus Christ while doing the necessary deeds of warfare. It has taken refuge in stony silence.

One former moderator, following a broadcast sermon on the meaning of the Cross, in which he repeatedly declared that only love can overcome evil, and that love operates by enduring outrage while refusing to use outrage, besought to present a statement of how that could be reconciled with the practice and support of war, replied, after two months, saying that it was impossible to discuss pacifism; our minds were too far apart. Reminded that he had not been asked to discuss pacifism, but to make his own positive statement of how, believing what he preached, he was able to approve of war, he replied briefly, saying that he was too busy!

That is, sketchily, the story of one church's reaction to its own profession of faith during World War II. It is here given because it is characteristic. It is not a pretty picture, this of the default of a great church. Its record holds it up to the ridicule and scorn of the ribald world. It has deliberately placed itself in such a position that from now on, no declaration of the United Church of Canada in General Council assembled, however cogent and solemn, whether past, present, or future, has any merit, significance, or value whatsoever.

The church leaders responsible for this disgraceful episode are, to the best of my knowledge and belief, sincere, extremely cultured Christian gentlemen. How does it come to pass that they could find themselves capable of this series of events in which the Church under their leadership has either played the fool or played the coward? The answer is simple.

The Christendom that bred them was apostate.

Father, I Have Sinned

Luke 15: 18

*A Meditation**

by

PHILIPPE VERNIER

Translated by *EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE*

YOUR MASTER AWAITS ONLY THIS CRY for help, and this confession of your unworthiness, before coming to your rescue.

At least once in your life you will have to live through the whole story of the prodigal son: "I will arise and go to my father, and will say to him, Father, I have sinned. . ." This is the road that leads to forgiveness, to joy recaptured in the home that is found. But before that, the road must pass through solitude and stubborn resistance. Pride and a sort of shyness constrain you to try every method to extricate yourself, before calling upon the Master. During this time one lives in the midst of swine, deceptively trying to satisfy the hunger of the soul with harsh, indigestible husks.

But perhaps you have not yet reached this point. You have received your share of the inheritance, a magnificent treasure which you believe to be inexhaustible, your ardent young life, the exciting mystery of which lures you and sweeps you away. All this will soon be spent, never fear! Treasures are quickly used up, and your heart also, and your body too, when the Father is no longer there to govern the output of its energy.

Supposing, even, that you have not yet left home. You only dream of adventure, at the same time unconsciously piling up the memories that will one day bring you back. Never mind! The story is still your own; you are already on the road which goes as far afield as despair, and loops back to pardon.

Oh, if you could understand soon that it is time to go home! I know it is never too late, but it is never too early either. And if only you never had to say, "Ten years, twenty years wasted, and all my young strength thrown away, given over to living like swine."

Guilty, unworthy, you certainly will be, indeed you already are. But he redeems! Think, then, of how he waits for you with open arms, to embrace you when you go to him with your head bowed low and your weary hands hanging at your sides.

---

* From the forthcoming volume of meditations *Not As the World Giveth*, to be published this fall.

Toward a World Consciousness

By MARSHALL HODGSON*

THE LAND OF ANDHRADESH is about as large, and has about the same population, as Spain. Its language, Telugu, has been acclaimed one of the most beautiful in the world; it has a cultivated literature. As a nation, it has a history older than Spain's, and perhaps as glorious. Under the heel of foreign oppressors, its people have been struggling valiantly for freedom. Strange, is it not, that we have never heard of Andhradesh?

Andhradesh is a country in India. It forms a part of the larger Indian nation in much the same way that Spain forms a part of the larger European community. This is not to belittle Indian unity. Andhradesh is loyal to India in a way that surpasses the loyalty of Spaniards to Europe, and that is to the Indians' credit. The parties of Europe that call for European federation are trying to develop there the wider patriotism which Gandhi already represents in India. But I am pointing out that whereas we are remarkably familiar with the peoples of Europe, we are not so with those of India. We have thought of India as one country, comparable to a country like Spain, within Europe. Yet there are as many millions in India as in all non-Russian Europe; and India is as large in area. If we are concerned with the brotherhood of man, this partiality should alarm us. For if we look about, we shall find that it has distorted dangerously our ideas of the world in many unsuspected ways.

"Oriental" a Loose Term

Most directly, it has produced serious misunderstanding of that great majority of mankind outside of our Western, or European, countries. For we have thought of other civilizations as if they were all taken together barely comparable to our own Western one. We speak of "West" and "East" as "halves" of mankind. Actually, all Europe and her American, Siberian, and Antipodal offshoots comprise only a third of the world's population. As industrialization spreads to other lands their population is increasing faster than ours, and our Western share in the total may well decrease. Yet we have lumped most of these other peoples together under the term "Oriental," and tried to understand them loosely as a unit.

It is like looking on "foreigners" as a single people corresponding to "Americans." If a traveler tells a group about Mexico, and speaks of how easy-going those "foreigners" are, we know that the word "foreigner" is here being loosely used. No one would think to ask, "Now the Germans are foreigners; are they also easy-going?" But I have heard a speaker on Persia remark on the lack of enterprise in "Orientals," and heard a man ask, "They say the Russians are Orientals; is this also true of them?" Evidently he did not realize that "Oriental" is a term nearly as negative as "foreign"; it is applied to any literate people which is foreign to our own Latin, Christian culture, and implies no common characteristics, within itself.

We have even ascribed characteristics to this "Orient," so that most of us have a vague mental picture which the term "Oriental" produces. We have heard of "Oriental fatalism," of "Oriental luxury," of "Oriental philosophy." But as the very concept of "Orient" is a false one, based on a myopic view of the world; so it will always be seen on examination that these phrases are misleading.

Nonindustrialized Cultures

In some of these cases, we have been really characterizing any nonindustrialized culture; for since industrialization began in the West, Western countries have tended to be most affected by it so far. But there are industrialized countries which we call "Eastern" and "Oriental," as well as nonindustrialized ones in the West. "Oriental fatalism" may be found as well in a Peruvian as in an Egyptian peasant, while "Oriental superstition" is much more likely in illiterate Poles than in literate Japanese. The witch-hanging in pre-industrial Puritan Massachusetts is as good an example of "Oriental superstition" as one is likely to find.

In other cases, we have characterized a particular culture, and by using the term "Oriental" have then stretched the notion to cover all the non-Western cultures. Thus our movies of "Oriental luxury" are based on Muslim fashions of the Near East; our fear of "Oriental fanaticism" refers to Turks and Arabs, not Chinese or Hindus. When we speak of the "Oriental race" we refer to Chinese and Japanese, not the people of India or Arabia. And when we talk about "Oriental philosophy," we are usually thinking of India, not Persia or China.

In still other cases, we have lumped together features of all the non-Western countries, yet "Oriental monarchies" are not all similar and a Shah of Persia resembled Louis XIV more than he did any Chinese emperor.

In order properly to understand the world we must realize that our European is only one of several diverse (and intermingling) cultures. We must beware any thinking based on giving the Occident an undue prominence, as in discussions comparing "West" with the whole "East." If a lecturer who has lived in Shanghai presumes to discuss the "East," remember that Shanghai is a good deal farther from Suez in every practical way than is New York. He may know about China and Japan; he is not an authority on Indian nationalism or Arabian oil.

Some may indeed suggest that since the world is being "Westernized," Western culture takes a special status. But remember that it is scarcely a matter of imposing the old Western culture on the world. For factories have made America today as different from

* MARSHALL HODGSON has lived and traveled in a number of European countries. He is now in Chicago managing a co-op house.

America 300 years ago, as they are making China different from the old China. The West is being "Westernized," itself. The metric system, machine-made clothes, and surrealist art are as new to us as to anyone else; and the literature, religion, and art of other culture remains as much alive as do our Shakespeare, Raphael, and Christianity.

There is no ground for giving so much greater importance to the West and Western peoples than to any one of the other civilizations. There are about as many peoples using the Latin script and the west Christian religion as there are using the Chinese script and the north Buddhist religion. Western Europe and America can be compared with China and Japan, but not with the rest of the world combined.

Directly, then, our provincialism has produced a misleading ignorance of the non-European world. Equally, it has distorted our historical, religious, and political perspectives on ourselves. For instance, it has produced the notion that around 500 A.D. Rome, the world empire, disintegrated; and that only monks kept alive for centuries the world's flame of learning until around 1500 A.D. when the light emerged again in the Renaissance. Because we are interested only in the history of our own western Europe, we are led to believe that an empire which ruled western Europe ruled all the world, that the loss of its west-European provinces was its disintegration, and that the later introduction into western Europe of learning and science could only have been due to their preservation within that region from ancient times. Consequently we are persuaded that civilization is likely to disintegrate again, and we should all prepare to retire to monasteries.

Our Fatal Provincialism

When it is pointed out that Rome was only one of many great civilized powers of the day; that in the eastern Mediterranean, where most of the classical literature was produced, Roman society continued strong, and Greeks and Arabs preserved and improved upon the old learning and science continuously up till modern times; that the "revival" of learning in western Europe was the result not of monkish housecleanings, but of infection from Arabic and Greek teachers—all this tells only part of the story that our provincialism has hidden from us. We have yet to learn the development of those areas beyond the Mediterranean; for contrary to the usual impression, those other lands did not stop growing long ago. Probably Confucius would have felt quite as strange in China under the Manchus, as Plato would have felt in Eighteenth Century Europe. Moreover, without the continuous development of all these other lands, modern developments even within our own West, like the Industrial Revolution, become inexplicable.

Of course, our books on "world history," "world literature," and even "world art," take no account of such a fact. While including a chapter on each European country, they lump all India, or all China, in a chapter each; and then feel content to suggest only the beginnings of their development. And so we suppose that Sanskrit literature never got beyond a stage comparable to the earlier Greek; and we have never heard of the Marathi, Tamil, or Gujarati literatures, partly because we have never heard of Maharashtra, Tamil-land, or Gujarat.

Our provincialism has likewise a curious religious result. We learn to speak of "Oriental" religions as if they were an ancient group in contrast to Christianity; as if they did not develop far after their founding, but were essentially superseded by our own Christianity. Though it is well known that Islam, for instance, is much more closely related to Christianity and Judaism than it is to Hinduism or Buddhism, it is lumped with the latter in discussions, rather than with our Western faiths. How can this help us understand either Islam or the other religions? We have considered Christianity as alone expanding at the expense of these "Oriental" religions which we choose to assume are older and less progressive. Yet we must remember that there are Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim missionaries at work here in the United States, making converts, though they have less wealth to back them than do our missionaries in their lands. How shall we learn to speak with a voice which can be the voice of all mankind, as long as we fail to recognize other religions as more than local pre-Christian survivals?

To judge by the space given them in our magazines, one would think that 403 millions of people in non-Russian Europe were far more important than 401 millions in India and Ceylon, and 423 millions in China proper, combined. Misled by the absurd concepts of the West and the "Orient," of Europe and "Asia," being continents on a par with each other, we think of the "countries" in each as comparable; of each little state in Europe as the equivalent of all India or China. We know the varying course of suffering in Belgium or Greece, but not in Hunan and Kwantung, nor in Bengal and Hindustan. We follow the minutest fortunes of the Polish government, but when, after long struggles, Orissa a few years ago achieved a semblance of political unity, we did not even hear about it. The resultant distortion can affect everything from relief work to political policy. What kind of "international" organization have we when the peoples of the West have forty representatives, but the peoples of India only one?

All this should be especially significant to any who are concerned for human brotherhood and world citizenship. I invite you to become aware of this provincialism, and to try noticing it about you. Every week I can find a new aspect of my own thinking that needs to be corrected from a world point of view. You will find it in almost any radio speech that touches on world problems, and, often enough, on only local problems. You will find it in any book that claims to survey the world in some way. You will find it in atlases, where Europe is given the status of a "continent" independent of the rest of Eurasia, and given more space than all the rest combined. You will find it in your own thoughts about religion, art, wealth, poverty, and the condition of mankind. You will often find it even in foreigners who have had a Western education! But if we are to help build world understanding, it is in all these spheres that we must get into the habit of thinking from more than a Western point of view.

The CIO and Race

By WILLARD UPHAUS*

THE CLOSING DAY of the National C.I.O. Educational Conference in Columbus, Ohio, last March, became a day of prayer and fasting when 150 delegates met "with one accord in one place" for eight hours in quiet and orderly protest against the discriminatory practices of the Neil House in refusing to serve Negro delegates.

On the opening day of the conference the first discrimination occurred when Negroes were refused service in the coffee shop. Soon after the issue arose the entire conference was informed and a test case was set up under the Ohio civil rights statutes to press the issue. On Friday four Negro delegates went to the coffee shop and were seated. Witnessed by seventeen people, seven living in Columbus, the delegates remained for one hour and fifty minutes without receiving service.

Upon the recommendation of a committee the entire body of the conference assembled for breakfast in the coffee shop at 7:30 on Sunday morning. All white delegates declined to order more than coffee until they knew their Negro fellow delegates were going to be served. Then followed eight hours of waiting without service and a program that no participant will ever forget.

Remembering it was Sunday the delegates felt that a religious message would be appropriate. The choice for preacher fell on Orville C. Jones, Congregational minister and former member of the faculty of Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, now Ohio C. I. O. Director of Community Relations. In a moving ten-minute sermonette Mr. Jones referred to the meeting as a fulfillment of the American dream of freedom and civil rights. He expressed his intense pride at being associated with the C.I.O. "because it is desperately in earnest about putting its principles of brotherhood into practice."

Restrain Discriminators

The speaker outlined the reasons why we continue to suffer from the unfortunate hang-over of race discrimination. The historical pattern of a slave economy still persists. Fear and competition for jobs remain acute, especially as depressions are anticipated. Many people use racism as a political tool. We still have with us a sick group of people who project their fear and guilt into forms of discrimination to cover up their own inadequacies. "We shall continue to help them straighten out their frustrations, but the time has come when we cannot let them foist their injustices upon others, but must exercise means to restrain them."

At the conclusion of his message this preacher-organizer led the conference in a prayer, in which he asked God "to help us all work together to achieve a world brotherhood of man in which each and every one will have the full opportunity to realize the highest and best in him."

Svend Godfredsen, Director of Education for the United Packinghouse Workers of America, read a prose poem which he had written and dedicated to the 1946 convention of his organization. Social radical and religious mystic, this servant of labor had intended to enter the Christian ministry, but work in a packinghouse changed the course of his life. One misses the full force of the worker-dreamer's insight in simply quoting a few lines, but here they are:

"I am America!
I am not myself alone.
Nor my possessions alone!
I am all men, all women and all children . . .
I am of all races and creeds and colors . . .
I am my brother's keeper but not in chains . . .
I am his keeper in hallowed liberty!
I am strong and proud of my dream . . .
I am fearful too,
Fearful when I see,
Fearful when I hear,
The voices of tyranny and deceit,
Of hatred and perversion,
Fearful of the deeds and the acts
Of the betrayers of freedom
Stalking my land of liberty."

Stirred by inscriptions upon walls to exterminate the Jew and by the insult, "Nigger, stay in your place," the author concludes:

"I am America!
I am the compassionate sadness of the Christ
Being whipped to a fighting fury
By this gruesome deed!"

The day's program had in it some of the elements of an old-fashioned testimony meeting that combines prayer, praise and penitence. Kermit Eby, the genius behind C.I.O. education, described the forces that drew him into the labor movement. He had been deeply affected, he said, by the group loyalties that hold workers together in their grim struggles. He had seen an old friend beaten by company stooges. The conviction grew in him that a Christian must identify him into the labor movement. He had been deeply way. It was the only way he could reconcile his Brethren background to the contemporary scene. Ideals are meaningful only as they are translated into everyday life.

"We have here enjoyed good fellowship and made life magnificent," Eby said. "Each is part of the same body. Today we have insisted on our right to put our ideals into practice."

The program closed with an address by Allan Haywood, C.I.O. Vice-President, and veteran organizer. Haywood began working in the mines at thirteen. To him mining had been a training school in group loyalty and sacrifice. Long before the check-off he had learned to share to alleviate a fellow-worker's tragedy. An injury to Pat from Ireland was an injury to Jac from Sweden. A common vow in the early

* WILLARD UPHAUS is Executive Secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

days was that a miner should never be buried in a pauper's grave.

Newcomers in the labor movement, especially educators tempted to depend on swivel chair solutions to life's problems, need to be reminded that they are the beneficiaries of a great heritage. The picture Haywood drew showed how his dream for labor swept beyond the mere mechanics of union activity. This was his advice:

> Make labor more than just a wage and hour movement. Remember that this movement of ours came through pain and strife and loving sacrifice. Let's not forget its spiritual part and let's not build a movement without a soul.

The conference adjourned without having won an immediate victory against discrimination, but it adopted a program to keep up the fight. The National C.I.O. was asked to sue the hotel for violating the law. All labor and civic groups were requested to boycott it. Arrangements were made for Negroes to continue sit-ins the week following to see if the hotel's resistance could be broken, and if not, to multiply the counts for suit. Delegates departed with their moral courage renewed.

Return to Germany

By F. SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE*

IMMEDIATELY AFTER hostilities ceased, I began to try to get back to my work on the east side of Berlin. Some friends in England and in the United States were quite certain that this would be possible in the Autumn of 1945; and so I made arrangements with my family to go to Berlin. We gave up our house in Zurich and stored our furniture. After some time the English friends who had been active in our behalf informed us that the officials in Berlin had still not granted permits.

Early in 1946 it looked as if the British occupation authorities would welcome my return to the British Zone, even though entry to the Russian Zone was refused for the time being. So at the Stockholm Council Meeting of the Fellowship in March 1946 I talked with Wilhelm Mensching, who had come from Germany, and arranged that if possible I would come to him soon after the middle of April, and help with the reconstruction of the German Fellowship. However, in the following months it appeared that in spite of all endeavors, permission to enter could not be secured from the Control Commission. Suddenly in November 1946 the permission arrived — more indeed than permission, an authorization from the Control Commission for me to visit the various Zones to deal with educational and social questions. I was thus to have the chance of studying the situation in these areas and of making comments to the appropriate quarters. I have been able to pass a few days at the Fellowship's headquarters in Petzen and to be present at, among other things, a meeting of the Executive of the Fellowship in the British Zone; but my main task has been to travel from place to place and to make inquiries into youth questions and cognate problems. Wherever I went, from the beginning of my travel, in Singen, Tubingen, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Kassel, Gottingen, Hannover, Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, etc., I have visited the sympathizers with our cause, and have had sad, and at the same time, happy exchange of experiences with them. To my joy, one thing above all else has been established: that the old friends of our movement have almost without exception remained true. New adherents, too, have been won, mostly by the old ones; but no really strong general movement for radical peacemaking has arisen. The general situation that has developed in the German areas has not made this possible.

The situation as it has developed in Germany is desperate. Hunger and cold have combined to weaken the strength and the health of the people to such an extent that a catastrophe must be expected if radical changes are not introduced. But English friends such as Lord Beveridge and Victor Gollancz, as well as the Bishop of Chichester, have demonstrated that fact in greater detail. Perhaps it only needs to be added that it is not possible for the British occupation authority, in spite of great efforts, to bring about more satisfactory conditions while the grain and potato-growing territory of Germany, which used to provide 70 per cent of North Germany's food supply, remains on the other side of the iron curtain, and especially while the territories now under Poland are not available for grain production. So long as the mistakes made at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam, due to geographical and economic ignorance on the one side and to clever calculation on the other, remain in force, the evil must increase. And this is all the more painful to all friends of peace, since the good will of the majority of those concerned in the work of occupation is apparent. I had the happiest relations with the occupation officials whom I have met on my travels. With certain personalities in the British Zone I feel particularly bound in grateful friendship. And the friendly politeness accorded to me by the French officials concerned for educational and religious matters, and the immediate feeling of contact shown by the American members of the occupation, also gave me grounds for hope. We must not expect the consequences of the guilt that men have loaded upon themselves in such frightful fashion will be small. On the other hand the consequences that now threaten the whole of mankind are so frightful, that workers for reconciliation must fully recognize the nature of their task.

* F. SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE was the first chairman of the IFOR. Before the war, he directed a social settlement in Berlin. He is now in Switzerland waiting to return to his work in the Russian zone of Berlin.

The Fellowship in Latin America

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
Co-Chairman, International F.O.R.

THE *Fraternidad de Reconciliacion y Paz*, which is the Spanish name of the FOR, has functioning groups in Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Puerto Rico. It has members in neighboring countries and a total Latin American membership of about six hundred. It has a Continental Committee, two excellent Executive Secretaries who are Latin Americans, a monthly magazine published in Uruguay and a bi-monthly paper in Mexico. The distance between the centers where our two Secretaries reside, one at Montevideo, Uruguay, and one at Monterrey, Mexico, is over 5000 miles.

Last spring my wife and I journeyed by airplane around the big circle from New York to Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Puerto Rico and New York. In the three months from February 26 to May 26 we covered some 14,000 miles, visiting fifteen countries and carrying out a speaking and visiting tour which had been arranged by J. Antonio Loureiro, the FOR Secretary in Montevideo. He proved to be a wonderful traveling companion, meeting us in Colombia and accompanying us south to Santiago, Chile, over the Andes and across the Continent to Buenos Aires and Montevideo, then north as far as Rio de Janeiro. In Mexico we had the pleasure of traveling with Francisco Estrello who serves part time for the Quakers there and part time for the FOR. During the tour, through the aid of interpreters, I spoke at ninety meetings, in twenty-eight localities, to about 7200 persons and gave six radio talks and had news paragraphs or articles in over a dozen papers.

Operation Latin America

In comparison with the 120,000,000 inhabitants of Latin America scattered over its vast extent, the FOR is a tiny drop in the Latin American bucket. However, we remember that with less than two hundred followers Francisco Pizarro attacked and subdued the Inca Empire of Peru which numbered its subjects in millions. Pizarro and his men crusading under the banner of Christ and the Church, resorted to treachery, lies, assassination, torture, hypocrisy and cruelty of the vilest sort, but a few virtues they had supremely. They had daring, courage and endurance. If the FOR is to get anywhere in its invasion of Latin America it will have to have these same virtues and wed them to wisdom and love.

One of the Andes-high barriers to our program, is militarism and conscription. Unfortunately the United States, whose propaganda in South America throughout the war was as nationalistic and militaristic as that of the Nazis and Communists, is today giving unprecedented incentive to South American nations to arm to the teeth.

It is tragic and pathetic to observe how the obsolete ideas of militaristic nationalism, which have been greatly strengthened by the war propaganda still catch and entangle the minds of youth. On the streets of Santiago, Lima, Buenos Aires and other capitals you see young officers strutting about in new uniforms looking for all the world as if they had just stepped out of pre-war Berlin. Or in discussions in schools and colleges you encounter the boys who believe that Switzerland is safe because she has an army or that the Jews need one to defend themselves in Palestine.

For example, at La Paz, Bolivia, I had three sessions with students in the excellent American Institute. Living in a small impoverished country which they believed had been wronged by Chile and other neighbors, they held that Bolivia might some day need to right these wrongs by war. When I endeavored to show how futile this would be for little Bolivia in the present economic and atomic age, I was put on the spot to meet the arguments that Denmark and the little countries of Europe were only saved by the use of military force against Hitler. After a barrage of questions lasting more than an hour at one gathering, I had a chance to meet the youngsters more personally. I then discovered that ten or a dozen were refuges from Germany or other parts of Europe.

Conscientious Objection Rare

Compulsory military training in peacetime and conscription for combat in case of war is the rule in the nations I visited, but there are differences in the extend of its enforcement. The large Indian populations of some countries are not thoroughly combed and there is selection of trainees by lot in Brazil. If Uncle Sam's military men get actively on the job it may be expected that things will be tightened up.

Conscientious objection is nonexistent or extremely rare except by way of draft evasion. The penalties for refusal to serve are apt to be severe. In Brazil I was told that if a man refuses military service he can be exempted but thereafter it is almost impossible for him to live in Brazil. His rights of citizenship and opportunities to practice a profession or be in business or employed are taken away. In Mexico the penalty is prison, ranging up to five years.

Uruguay and Puerto Rico, so far as I know, are the only countries where the law makes real provisions for conscientious objectors. However the authorities in Puerto Rico did not allow Puerto Ricans to go into noncombatant duty or civilian public service until after Bishop Charles Boynton of the Episcopal Church and FOR had intervened. In Uruguay the opportunity for nonmilitary service is due to Victor Goldschmidt, two other Uruguayans and Earl Smith who went to see the President several years ago just after the government had

decided to adopt conscription. They got a provision written into the law to allow alternative service of a "dangerous" character for men whose consciences forbade them to take part in war.

The annual assembly of the Confederation of Evangelical Churches of the River Plate area at a meeting in Buenos Aires, at which I was present, passed a resolution requesting the Argentine Government to make adequate provision for conscientious objectors. A Mennonite pastor told me that he wished some of his young men would refuse military training. Thus far none of them had done so.

Francisco Estrello is planning for a committee to go to the Mexican Government on this issue. Herman Will, Jr., after a trip through Cuba and Mexico last year said, "It will be very hard for a new pacifist movement to gain much headway among young men unless there is some other alternative than a prison sentence."

With pacifism taking hold as it is in the youth movement of the Evangelical Churches, we may expect that before very long the problem of conscientious objectors and the military state will emerge in one or more Latin American countries as it did in the conscription countries of Europe after World War I. I was told that eighty percent of the students in Union Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires are pacifist. How Latin American pacifists can best oppose conscription, is a searching problem for the FOR.

(*To be concluded in the October issue.*)

Let's Reunite These Two

Professor Jose Brocca, a valiant and veteran pacifist of Spain, has not seen his wife for nine years. During the Spanish Civil War they organized and maintained rescue work and a home for war orphaned children, first in Spain and later in Southern France. Sticking by the children in their orphanage to the last possible moment when the invading Nazis took over, Professor Brocca and his wife were separated by the war. Internment camps and refugee conditions pushed them far asunder. For the first time they are at liberty to come together if money is provided to transport Mrs. Brocca from Spain to her husband in Mexico City.

Allan Hunter tells about Jose Brocca in his book "White Corpuscles in Europe." Allan and I met him at our International FOR Conference in 1938 in Holland. He is a close friend of Runham Brown, Honorary Secretary of War Resisters International. Runham once told me that Brocca was one of the bravest and finest pacifists he knew. Devere Allen would second this opinion. To me Professor Brocca's case is a test of pacifist fellowship surmounting the economic and national barriers of war.

Recently he wrote me that he is not allowed to return to Spain but that his wife now wishes to join him in Mexico. They are no longer young and although Professor Brocca has been able to support himself by a commercial job he has not the funds to pay for his wife's journey overseas. If any readers of FELLOWSHIP would like to chip in to a fund to bring Mrs. Brocca across, I will be responsible for seeing that the collection gets to him so that these two persons, who suffered nine years of hardship and separation in consequence of their loyalty to the principles of love and non-violence, may at long last be restored to each other and build again their home. (Please be sure to label donations "Brocca Fund.")

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Summer Night

WALLACE HAMILTON

THESE SUMMER NIGHTS are times of gentle hedonism, times to stretch and bask, times to wrap the darkness round and let stillness, like thick down, press against your ear. But the darkness is close, and sounds prowl. A creak on the stair, a cracking branch, an animal scuffling among the trees just beyond the eye's reach.

Fear is most private on a summer night, and most universal. This fear stretches back, chromosome by chromosome, to ancestors. Hunched in his hut, Great-Grandfather spawns his legends—

"And now from out the moorland, under the misty slopes

"Came stalking Grendel. . ."

Out of the quarry miles away swirl djinns and afrits. Fire-formed skeletons dance in the sky and werewolves break the earth.

Ancestors' truck! Rich rummage to be buried in books and studied with a chuckle. Great-Grandfather was a superstitious old fool. No djinns haunt the quarry. Grendel will not be plodding, heavy-footed, down the concrete road. The scuffling in the woods is a chipmunk. Such baggage of private terror has no place in this harsh age.

Our minds are filled with public crisis, conflict bedded in document and polysyllable—"spheres of influence" and "reparations," "sterling bloc," and "nuclear fission," various plans and doctrines. The issues are sharp and factual, jagged in the sunlight.

No room for private terrors in the collective age. No room for intimate creaks on the stair and solitary Grendels. If terrors there must be, demonology must serve The State. The fire-formed skeletons must be shattered, and replaced with supersonic saucers.

State-sired demonology may have lost some of Great-Grandfather's finesse, but it is no less wondrous. The State performs miraculous transformations. Consider—as the incantations work—how an alien nation of human-souled millions congeals before your eyes into an homogenized mass of damp, chilled flesh that will push a creeping tentacle up your stairs to throttle you in the night. Or in another flash of wizard-powder, a fanged monster, drooling idiot-hunk, or a flight of ravening harpies.

Great-Grandfather stirs in his hut, totters out to see the sky full of flashes and monsters towering on the hill. Clutching his club, he shrieks that faith and reason have fled, his children are mad, and all hell vomits.

Even in the old days Great-Grandfather never had it so good.

On the Other Hand

COMMENT BY

A. J. MUSTE

Arrival in England. I left New York by plane at about seven in the morning and by eleven P. M. we were over England. Below us and sometimes above were the blackest clouds I have ever seen. I do not think anyone who has not seen it can imagine how black blackness can be. Perhaps this was symbolic of what hangs over Europe. At intervals to the northeast the clouds thinned out and in these spots the morning sun was breaking through. Some of them looked like lakes of molten gold and glass. Maybe that was symbolic too.

Very Sad. Most of us who attended the Peace Seminar at Le Chambon sur Lignon, home of André Trocmé and Edouard Theis and of the Collège Cévenol, roomed at a hotel called Clos Gentil. During the war it was the headquarters of the Gestapo. Natives said this was appropriate since it was such an ugly building! And it must be admitted that it was not as picturesque as some other houses in the neighborhood. At prayers one morning Florence Sangree told of a conversation she had just had with an elderly woman who lodged in the basement, or more accurately cellar, of the hotel. She recalled that in 1939 a peace conference was scheduled to be held in Clos Gentil, but war broke out. Only one delegate from outside France arrived and he had to scurry home.

Then presently the Gestapo took over. They had their armory, the old woman said, in the big first floor room where our seminar sessions were held. At one time during the Gestapo tenancy she had six young resistance men hidden in her cellar room for two weeks. Then one day she "got an intuition" that they'd better go. She spirited them away during the night. The second night after that the Gestapo broke into her room with huge flashlights in the middle of the night, searched everywhere, but found no one.

The old woman said she was happy that now another peace conference was being held and asked Florence whether there were any Germans present. When Florence replied that it had been impossible to get permits for any Germans to come, the old woman sighed, said "That is very sad," and walked slowly back to her cellar.

The Le Chambon Seminar. Only a word about this now, since I shall want to report on it fully later. Though no Germans, except refugees, were present, the largest group of all was the Italian, something for which I was not at all prepared and which represented in part the fruit of the magnificent work done by our traveling IFOR secretaries, Magda and André Trocmé (the former herself an Italian) on two arduous journeys into Italy earlier this year. The Italians—not all pacifists—came from Naples, Rome, the Waldensian Valley, Florence, Bergamo, Turin, Milan. A couple were Waldensians. An Italian Methodist minister and his wife from Rome were present. But most significant was the presence of a dozen men and women—the majority young men—who were neither Catholic nor Protestant but who had thought their way through to a religious view of life and in several notable instances to pacifism. One was an engineer, another a professor of philosophy, a third the health officer of the city of Ferrara, a young woman the head of the women's work of the Socialist Party in the latter city.

Two extremely interesting and brilliant young French Roman Catholic pacifists were present. They belong to a Franciscan Tertiary Group which calls itself Cheval Blanc—the White Horse—based on the reference to Christ in Revelations 6:2: "I saw and beheld a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him; and he went forth conquering and to conquer"—by non-violence, these Tertiaries believe and teach.

World Conference of Christian Youth at Oslo. This column is being written on the day before the Conference itself opens and after about 300 leaders, delegate chairmen and experts have been meeting almost continuously for four days. In the leaders' group so far about forty countries have been represented. The Chinese delegation arrived a day or so ago—a week or more late—in a converted military plane which had to be grounded for several days in Stockholm for repairs. Last evening Niemoller and his wife and about 15 German youth delegates arrived and were warmly greeted. The only important country which will not be represented is Japan, and thereby hangs quite a tale. There was no difficulty in getting permission and indeed active assistance from the amazing MacArthur; but when everything was ready and the Japanese delegates were actually waiting for their plane to take off, the Australian government intervened. It does not want any Japanese to be permitted to leave Japan for any purpose until after the peace treaty is signed. I got a triple confirmation of this before I would believe it!

The Last Drop of Communion Wine. The other day here in Oslo I came across in Stewart Herman's book, *The Rebirth of the German Church,* the sentence: "In Berlin the Russians had consumed the last drop of communion wine." That may serve as a text for the statement of the most insistent and powerful impression one gets in western Europe. It is not inconceivable that the last remnant of western civilization, of Christian culture may before long be destroyed, "the last drop" consumed. If it happens it will certainly be partly because of internal weakness and corruption, in the churches as well as outside them. But, at least equally, because of pressure on this strip of western Europe from without. And the dilemma is a fearful one: either communism will take over—and the fear of that causes millions in these lands to welcome a "firm attitude" on the part of the United States toward Russia—or they will be pounded to pieces in the war between these two super-powers. I meet multitudes who hope that American "firmness" will "stop Russia." It is so hard for them to accept the fact that another tyranny or another war confronts them. It is the sad task of an American to warn them against placing any hope in the way of power politics and war—even as practiced by the U. S. A.—and to declare that there is no hope save in a spiritual and total renunciation of war itself.

News from the Peace Front

Retreat-Conference Stresses Cells for Peace

In the conviction that the role of the pacifist movement needed a complete rethinking, pacifist leaders from all over the country met at Pendle Hill for a Retreat-Conference on Pacifist Orientation and Strategy. The complete transcript has just been issued, although a "minute" on the basic message appeared shortly after the retreat in May.

Against the background of chaos and crisis involving our entire civilization leaders discussed the place of cells for meditation and planned action by groups of persons seeking a deeper understanding of common spiritual resources. Not just praise of God, not just writing to Congressmen, but a real facing of individual and group shortcomings in the light of God and his will as discovered when individuals seek it together. It was decided to increase emphasis on pacifist cell groups during the coming year.

Some of the particularly revealing statements were:

Douglas Steere: "I think we want people to be at home with a God who says that when I call men to me it is by a method other than violence. We are all one in a God whose very character says something about the way in which he means we are to live together. The Third Order of St. Francis had radical social and political implications. They didn't use cells to get a political program, but there is a connection between cells and our other conclusions. The greatest Christian heresy, I sometimes think, is separating the life of contemplation from the life of action. The great genius of Christ is to keep things together."

Frank Olmstead: "There has been a great interest in communities in CPS circles. But very few understood the price of community. There has to be somebody in the community who feels that the others are a part of himself and feels it so deeply that it enlarges life with the others. If this is going to have anything more than a normal educational and political influence, it must be because we persuade people that there is a life wherein they become possessed of a larger experience, the experience of the brotherhood of man, of oneness with those around them. There is actual energy in such experience. It is the very essence of prayer. We need to recognize the nature of what has to take place and be ready to participate in it."

John Swomley: "It is personalities who exemplify this feeling who must provide the fire and passion. People who accept the religious conception that we have been talking about must exemplify it, plus the political and social action, in such a way that there will be no question that real leadership centers on it. I don't see how we can do it except as something comparable to one of the great evangelistic drives that have taken place in history."

Ray Newton: "Unless we can say something to help people see the purposes of God and how they can fit in with them, we are not going to get to the resources we need. Our resources must go back into roots of our faith. . . . If we could help people find themselves in their present world in their relationship to God and to their fellowmen, we would have the necessary revival."

UMT Bill Reported Out; Beware of Conscription

Congress did not pass Universal Military Training this past session, but a bill providing for at least a year of compulsory military training for every male between the ages of eighteen and twenty years was reported out by the House Armed Forces Committee on July 25.

This action will insure the bill's coming up early in the next session of Congress, whether at a special session this fall, or in January 1948.

The bill provides for a National Security Training Corps and a commission of three members to determine policy and standards, but will leave operation to the military. Every seventeen-year-old boy would register to be drafted at eighteen. Those physically or mentally disqualified for military training would be given other training. CO's would be assigned to departments or agencies other than the war or navy departments.

After six months in army training camps, the boys will "choose" additional training for from six months to six years in reserve corps. Any members of the reserve corps may be recalled "for at least such a period as the President may direct."

Indian Leaders Accept British Partition Plan

India's long struggle for independence from the British Empire, the first campaign ever waged on so large a scale by non-violent means and under pacifist leadership, is reaching a climax as leaders sit down to discuss how a free India ought to be governed. Despite Gandhi's insistence that India is one land and should be governed as such, other Indian leaders have accepted Britain's plan to partition India into Hindu and Moslem states. The governments will both receive dominion status within the British Empire as soon as boundary questions have been settled through referendum.

The Moslem League and the Constituent Assembly may be joined by groups outside their present jurisdictions, but such other groups are left free to form their own assemblies. The tribes of the Northeast will deal with the appropriate Indian authority after the over-all plans are put into effect. The Princely states are not covered, but according to a *New York Times* report, Aug. 1, Hyderabad and Tranvancore, the two most powerful princely states, will adhere to the Dominion of India.

Indian leaders broadcast their acceptance of the plan to many parts of India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told his radio audience that while partition did not mean the "free and independent united India" they had long sought, "The united India we labored for was not one of compulsion and coercion, but a free and willing association of free people. It may be that in this way we shall reach a united India sooner than otherwise."

Mohammed Ali Jinnah spoke for the All India Moslem League: "It is for us now to consider that the plan . . . should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement."

Sardar Baldev Singh: "The plan that has now been announced steers a course obviously above the conflicting aims. It is not a compromise. I prefer to call it a settlement. It does not please everybody, not the Sikh community anyway, but it is certainly something worth while. Let us take it at that."

* * *

Those interested in sending goats to Europe to supplement heifers already being sent should get in touch with the Brethren Service Committee, New Windsor, Md.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

Non-violent Strategy Succeeds; Cafeteria Ends Discrimination

Members of the Interracial Workshop meeting in Washington, D. C., during July learned first-hand of racial discrimination in the nation's capital. They found that except in Union Station, government cafeterias, the YWCA, and one or two isolated spots, a Negro in Washington cannot eat outside the colored section. The YMCA coffee shop and the Methodist Building cafeteria were selected as likely spots for change in discriminatory policies.

Attempts to eat interracially in the YMCA coffee shop were unsuccessful. One morning a student from India living at the YMCA was taken for a Negro American and refused service. A fellow Indian student wrote to *PM*, "I am on my way back to India, which has been nagged by the United States for practicing the caste system. For Heaven's sake stop spending your time and money trying to spread a gospel and a religion that have not done any good to your own people. Spend those millions to re-educate your own people and let them practice the things told by Christ."

After protests by the India Legation, the student was served. Negro Americans can appeal only to the consciences of Americans of good will.

An interracial group was served in the Methodist Building cafeteria on July 5, but when a Negro couple returned the next day, they were refused service.

Talks with the building manager and the executive secretary were friendly, but accomplished little. On July 24 the interracial group returned to the cafeteria, supplied with leaflets and posters. The ideas that "discrimination in a *church-owned* building offends men of good will, and that the public should urge the church to face its responsibility for discrimination on its property were suggested.

When a group of four Negroes entered the cafeteria line they were served without trouble. The discriminatory policy had been broken.

"Don't Ride Jim Crow," a leaflet explaining the Supreme Court's Morgan decision invalidating segregation in interstate travel, was distributed in the Greyhound Bus Terminal by members of the group. "Where Can I Eat?" lists restaurants in the downtown area now open to Negro patrons.

Meetings were addressed by representatives of schools, universities, labor unions, and groups working for racial equality. Working with FOR and CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) were the Washington, D. C. Committee for Racial Democracy, the NAACP, and several Washington churches.

Interracial Workshop Report

Full progress report on the workshop is available in mimeographed form. 25c. Write to Bayard Rustin, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Broke Jim Crow Law, Sentenced to Road Gang

Andrew Johnson and Joe Felmet, participants in the Journey of Reconciliation last April, have been tried in Chapel Hill, N. C. Both were found guilty of violating state Jim Crow laws, despite the fact that the Supreme Court's Irene Morgan decision declares the enforcement of segregation laws in interstate travel to be an undue burden on interstate commerce.

Purposely discriminating against the white man, the judge gave Felmet the maximum sentence of 30 days on the road gang, while Johnson received a $25 fine. The judge wished to give Felmet six months, but found the maximum penalty only thirty days.

The indictment was changed from disorderly conduct to violation of state segregation laws after police and bus drivers testified that the men had not resisted arrest. The cases are being appealed.

Starvation Threatens Japan; Imports Scarce

Japan's new Socialist Premier, Tetsu Katayama, presented the worst picture given so far of Japan's food situation in his first speech before the Constitutional Diet, as reported in the *New York Times*, July 16.

Many expected a sweeping program to cope with serious inflation, black marketing, and production problems. Realizing that a strong socialist program would meet with overwhelming opposition from the present coalition government, Katayama simply informed the Diet that starvation threatened Japan and that sufficient imports were not available even with help from Allied Headquarters. A program is yet to be evolved.

Newspaper's A-Bomb "Scoop" Is Dud

Reports that the "atom bomb" had been stolen from Oak Ridge, Tenn. flashed across the *New York Sun's* front page July 12. The army would never have let that happen; let the civilian control board turn the atom back to the military!

How did the *Sun* know? "We got the story from a congressman's office," they said, taking full credit for the biggest scoop in weeks.

But within twenty-four hours the real story became apparent. According to the FBI, the secret papers were stolen in March, 1946. Two army sergeants took them home for souvenirs, but from Los Alamos, not Oak Ridge, and they were eventually recovered.

Incidentally the thefts were finally discovered by the civilian board, shortly before it supplanted the army commission early in 1947.

International Service Draws 200 Volunteers

Founded by Pierre Ceresole, one of Europe's leading pacifists and first joint general secretary of the IFOR, Le Service Civil International now has members in a dozen countries. Its British branch, The International Voluntary Service for Peace, reports that during the past year over 200 volunteers from ten countries have met emergency needs or done work of public usefulness in nine European countries.

Selected without regard to race, religion, or political belief, the volunteers have rebuilt homes in Norway, established harvesting camps in England, fed children in Greece, and helped to re-establish German expellees.

Efforts are made to cooperate with other organizations, such as the Friends Ambulance Units and UNNRA, and to exchange volunteers in order to create a truly international service. French members have worked in Switzerland; British, Swiss, and Czech members in Poland; and British and French members in Germany.

Reconciliation

The monthly magazine of the British FOR—a review of the things that belong to Peace. Subscription: 6s. or $1.25 a year

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
38 Gordon Square
London, W.C. 1 England

Students to Learn Institutional Care

Institutional Service Units under the direction of the American Friends Service Committee are making experience in mental hospitals and reformatories available interracially to groups of young men and women.

Institutional staff members plan to give about thirty hours of lectures to unit members on mental illness and correctional methods. Units are year-round and members may join at any time. Minimum length of service in mental hospitals is two months, in reformatories, three months. Locations are Rockland State Hospital, Orangeburg, N. Y.; New Jersey State Hospital, Trenton, N. J.; New Jersey State Reformatory for Women, Clinton Farms. Write to Institutional Service Units, AFSC, 20 S. 12 St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Friends Secure Jobs For Qualified Negroes

The American Friends Service Committee's non-fee placement bureau is bringing trained and experienced Negroes into contact with forward looking employers in the Philadelphia area. The Committee wishes to create better understanding as well as more employment opportunities for Negroes. White clerical, technical, and professional people have learned to work with Negroes of similar backgrounds and interests.

Efforts to place qualified Negroes on the faculties of white colleges have been extended to include non-Negroes who wish to work in Negro colleges. Exchange professorships have been arranged in many instances.

The AFSC has also compiled a partial list of schools, colleges, and summer camps which include children of all racial groups.

Lillian Smith Joins CORE Committee

In accepting membership on CORE's National Advisory Committee, Lillian Smith, author of *Strange Fruit*, wrote:

". . . I am deeply in sympathy with your aims and with your philosophy. I especially believe the need for action in the North is pressing and immediate. Since for decades in the South we have lived in a psychological state where words have not been permitted, we must first . . . say out loud that we believe in human equality. . . . We have to say these things first. Then once saying them, we must begin to act."

Jottings

One hundred and fifty Los Angeles, Calif., area ministers have issued a joint statement against universal military training, based on its inadequacies as a method of defense, and its denial of good faith in the UN.

Other arguments they present are that UMT leads toward militarization, restricts freedom of conscience, and exposes immature youth to well-known and immoral pressures.

They declare the report of the President's Commission on UMT to be "self-contradictory, revealing the futility and astounding waste . . . involved."

* * *

Charles R. Lawrence, Professor at Fisk University and FOR National Council member, was awarded one of eight Kent Fellowships by the National Council on Religion in Higher Education for graduate students. He is studying at Columbia University and working part-time with New York City's Interracial Fellowship.

* * *

The National Urban League calls attention to the revised *Underwriting Manual of the Federal Housing Administration,* stating that claims that it would eliminate race prejudice in residental neighborhoods seem doubtful. Discussion of "compatibility among neighborhood occupants," "mixture of user groups," and a section on the "use of protective covenants" do not include a statement that under no circumstances shall race be recognized or used by FHA in its determinations.

* * *

J. Allen Skinner, chairman of the British No Conscription Council, explains the British Labor Party's adoption of conscription by saying, "With its policy of full employment in operation, it is no longer possible to recruit an army by economic pressure through threat of destitution. Such considerations however, do not end with the question of military service . . . . Unless lovers of freedom make their voices heard, it will not stop there."

* * *

Present statistics reveal that 500,000 of the displaced persons now in Europe are Catholics, 100,000 Protestants, and 250,000 Jews.

* * *

Robert Gemmer, active FOR member, has received his B.D. degree from the Chicago Theological Seminary, and been ordained by the Disciples in Indianapolis, Ind. When an undergraduate student at Indiana University, he served as a part-time contact person for FOR.

The Presbyterian Church of the United States has adopted a program of social action calling for general amnesty for 13,000 American prisoners under the Selective Service Act, opposing peacetime universal military training, advocating the admittance of 400,000 displaced persons during the next four years, and affirming its belief in federal world government as the ultimate goal of world organization.

* * *

The United Presbyterian Church of North America has voted to take a definite stand against all forms of racial discrimination.

* * *

The first Negro taxicab drivers to be employed by the Yellow Cab Co. in Milwaukee, Wis., and by the Red Cab Co. in Toledo, Ohio, were placed during July, thanks to negotiations between the Milwaukee and Toledo Urban Leagues and the two companies.

* * *

Over 1,000 staff members of the UN secretariat demanded that rental agreements between the UN and the Metropolitan and New York life insurance companies be canceled because racial discrimination can be imposed through present contracts. (*New York Times,* July 24.)

* * *

The town of Natick, Mass., observed the second anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima with prayer and community-wide activities for the promotion of world peace.

* * *

The annual Methodist Conference of Great Britain, meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, July 19, declared that the way to security and peace is to be found through complete disarmament, the destruction of all atomic bombs, and plant inspection to guard against the secret manufacture of weapons.

* * *

Joseph A. Rabun, Georgia Baptist pastor, who has opposed white supremacy legislation, has been forced to give up his church. Herman Talmadge, former pretender to the governorship of Georgia was at one time a member of the church.

* * *

Britain will grant full independence to Burma as soon as details can be worked out, Prime Minister Attlee told the House of Commons July 24. The present interim government in Rangoon, Burma, will be recognized as the provisional government until the transfer is complete.

The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

For Creative Drama

Conscience on Stage, by Harold Ehrensperger, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1947. $2.00.

If it is true that "the play's the thing wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king," and if the church, as the author of this book points out, in order to be effective, "must be the conscience of the community," the value of this thorough rethinking of drama in its relation to religion and Christian education cannot be overestimated.

Beginning with an evaluation of life itself in terms of the dramatic, Mr. Ehrensperger traces the interrelationship of drama and religion through the centuries, then devotes the greater part of his book to practical techniques for an effective dramatic program in the church. There are chapters on the organization of dramatic groups, play direction, interpretation, creative dramatics with successive age groups, and a series of appendices which offer actual experiments in creative dramatics, lists of plays and other source materials, and a model constitution for a drama group in the church.

Conscience on Stage surpasses other texts of its kind in its comprehensive analysis. It is a *must* for the minister, educational director, or youth counselor who desires first to envision his goal and then to thoroughly think through the most effective methods of attaining it.

DOROTHY CLARKE WILSON

Religious Rebels

Modern Christian Revolutionaries, Edited by Donald Attwater. The Devin-Adair Co. 390 pages. $4.00.

This book is important for all who are interested in religion and religious pacifism. Its editor and the author of the chapter on Eric Gill is an English Roman Catholic literary critic and pacifist. Three of the other authors, M. Chaning Pearce who writes the chapter on Kierkegaard; F. A. Lea, who has recently succeeded Middleton Murry as the editor of the British *Peace News* and who wrote the sketch of G. K. Chesterton for this book; and Nicol Macnichol who does C. F. Andrews, are Protestants. E. Lampert, author of the sketch on Nicolas Berdyaev is, like his subject, a member of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

It must mean something, too, that in this book published by a Roman Catholic publishing house a Protestant author should comment: "Chesterton's allegiance to Rome was, we believe, his first great error."

Two of the subjects, Eric Gill and C. F. Andrews, were avowed and active pacifists. Berdyaev is all but an avowed pacifist. Kierkegaard is of course one of the great masters and inspirers of the neo-orthodox in Europe and the Niebuhrians in this country. I do not know whether Kierkegaard ever dealt with the issue of pacifism in relation to war. There is certainly nothing in his teaching to suggest that the religious or Christian man ever has any alternative but to obey the absolute command of love.

Of Chesterton's failure to adopt pacifism, F. A. Lea writes: "It is impossible to support at one and the same time rearmament and Distributism. . . . Chesterton preferred rearmament to Distributism."

I believe that both scholars and ordinary readers will find this book useful and delightful. It is full of profound and challenging observations on literary, political and religious themes. Let me close by citing one—again by F. A. Lea—which seems to me to state the essence of the program for pacifism today: "Pacifism is the politics of forgiveness—of forgiveness raised 'from a private virtue to a virtue of nations'. . . . It was his [Chesterton's] tragedy that he did not become the prophet of a perhaps unrealizable attainment: if, indeed, forgiveness does lie beyond the realization of England. There is no one who can be sure even of that; and certain it is that no great moral advance has ever been made by the mass of mankind that was not expected of it almost as a natural consummation by the few."

A. J. M.

Russian Report

Quarterly Research Story: Report on the USSR. Pacifist Research Bureau. 16 pp. 50c.

In an excellent research job the PRB gives us a quick survey of the history, and the economic, political, social and cultural development of Russia from the time of the revolution, with a brief survey of current problems. The study is intended to serve as the basis for the forming of sound opinions in the current US-Russian crisis, and as such is indispensable. Also included in this issue are excellent bibliographies on the above subject and on Palestine, Race Relations, Foreign Policy, Far East, Labor, Machinery for War, and some miscellanies. We feel compelled to report that the typesetting was a bit sloppy.

Woman's Responsibility

Martha and Mary: A Woman's Relationship to Her Home, by Josephine Moffett Benton. Pendle Hill. 25c.

Starting with the story of Martha, who was cumbered with many duties, and Mary, who sat at the Lord's feet instead of helping to prepare the food, Mrs. Benton discusses, with depth and perception, the balance a woman needs between these two aspects of her married life. In these days of career women, of the division most educated women feel when their time is taken up increasingly with the care of a house and children to the exclusion of intellectual pursuits, or when a multiplicity of outside interests may cause a divergence of man and wife from each other and from their home, a work like this recalls them to the deep roots of life and to a consideration of the values of marriage. Addressed particularly to women, every one, married or not, ought to read it, for it is a beautiful and moving experience.

Business between Nations

America's Stake in World Trade, by Gloria Waldron and Norman S. Buchanan. Public Affairs. 32 pp. 20c.

A discussion for wide distribution among laymen of the present state and possible restoration of world trade. Recommends gradual tariff reduction for this country, rehabilitation of war-devastated countries for their sake and ours, greater imports, and coordination of national full-employment and trade policies by, possibly, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Excellent introduction to international trade and fiscal policies.

CONSTANCE MUSTE

New York book publisher seeks out-of-town representatives, part or full time. Experience not required. Fellowship Box No. 2.

Man, married or single, wanted as co-worker on mountain dairy farm. Race, creed, color, of no import, but would prefer religious pacifist who pursues the lonely way beyond political groups or church sects, James P. Cooney, Morning Star Farm, Haydenville, RFD, Mass.

The Searchlight A finely printed magazine advocating full industrial democracy, seeks paid subscriber list for mailing entry. A dollar value, but help by sending 25c for full year of six issues. *The Searchlight*, 29A Parker Ave., San Francisco 18, Calif.

We, the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution (CNVR), believe our group worthy of interest to FOR members. Inquiries invited. Box 326, Newark 1, N. J. The New York CNVR group engages in action projects, and meets weekly at 5 Beekman St. (nr. City Hall), Room 1025, Mondays 8:30-11:00 P.M.

Read "PLANNING FOR WORLD PEACE," an interesting booklet concerning us—all to take part in it. Send fifty cents for your copy. Address Emil C. Hasenauer, Hayes Center, Neb.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

On Peace and Order

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

True peace and simple order are not the same thing. Order exists in the presence of enforced law and in the absence of serious conflict. Order exists between the Negro and white people of the country as long as there is no violence and the law is enforced—even in the absence of full justice and mutual love. Order exists in your home town as long as civil law is obeyed by the townspeople, even though management exploits labor, even though many people are ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed, and even though neighbors gossip about each other over the back fence. Order exists through obedience to law.

But true peace is different. Peace exists where love rules in the hearts of men. It is the gift of God for it is created only where love guides the relations of man with man, and love is of God. Order is essentially social, because it requires the more or less universal obedience to law. Peace is strongly individual, in that it exists wherever there is a heart in which God's love dwells.

The final goal of order is the extension of the reign of law not only to people as citizens of towns and states and nations, but to all people as citizens of the world. Its goal is the extension of law to cover not only city and state and national affairs, but the relations between and among nations as well. Thus the ultimate goal of order is the creation of world-wide government, a world federation, a "United States of the World."

The ultimate goal of peace is that *all* men shall live in love around the world. The ultimate goal of social order is world federation. The ultimate goal of the peace of love is the world-wide Community of God.

The creation of the Community of God's love in all of society is a great task which will require centuries of heroic living to perfect. But social order can be maintained through human decency, social custom, and civil government—even though the true love of God does not dwell in every heart. In the same way, *world* order through *world* government can exist and work successfully even though the Community of God is far from realization.

In this century there has appeared the possibility of ending international lawlessness and destruction through the creation of a true world government—a world republic.

Actually the Community of God and world government are closely related, and in a real sense dependent on each other. In the absence of world government the recurring destruction of war is so great that the influence of God's love in human life is often destroyed faster than it can be cultivated. Without the creative influence of those who live in the growing Community of God, there may never be enough good will and understanding among the now-conflicting peoples of the world to make the establishment of a world government possible. Thus the creation of a world government and the building of the Community of God must go on together. Both must be worked for and lived for *now*. World federation is the urgent necessity of the hour; the Community of God is the ultimate necessity of the ages.

We cannot hope to create a world federation and ignore the need for God's love in the lives of individual persons. We cannot hope to bring the peace of God to the suffering peoples of the world if we do not work to establish even a bare minimum of international social order through federal world government.

DAVID ANDREWS
Goldsboro, N. C.

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

For Deep Roots

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The feeling has been growing within me that we pacifists overwork the technique of protest and are sadly lacking in a constructive approach to the religious, moral, and social problems with which we are concerned. I wonder, too, if there isn't a higher way . . . than *"Write your Congressman!"*

I do not profess to know the answers, but I am convinced that we must find them or become increasingly obstructionist.

When I felt it necessary to give up my work at Gould Farm, I concluded that our communities need stable, long term Christian leadership, with its roots going deep into the community. I decided I'd give up, if necessary, my professional work, live right here in Monterey, and make my living any way I could—like the others do, and just see how much leadership I could give from within the ranks of the people.

A friend let me live in his house last winter, but even so, it proved a tough winter for myself, wife, and three small daughters. We were often cold and not too well fed, and for the first time in our lives are in debt. First I got a power chain saw and went to work in the woods. Then I borrowed enough money to buy the school bus and was given the contract for transporting the school children. This gives me half-time wages. I am also trying to work up a small repair shop through which I can use a means of production for social good.

But what about political action? The people of the town wanted me to be useful, and also wanted to help me stay, so I was run for Town Clerk and Selectman. Elected to both offices, and later appointed Clerk of the Board of Selectmen, I am getting a liberal education in politics and government.

I'd like to see a political action movement started in the FOR, a movement of people who are willing to get into politics themselves, if only in their own town or village. Let's see if we can't put fellowship and reconciliation into government by our own direct contribution.

I can't give or pledge any money for FOR this year because it is just all I can do to feed and clothe my family, but I want you to know that whether I am preaching the gospel, or driving the school bus, or carrying out my duties as a town officer, or working at day labor with the road gang, I'm working for Christian fellowship and reconciliation in this community and throughout the world.

W. RAYMOND WARD
Monterey, Mass.

Sarah Cleghorn: Pro . . .

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I wish to congratulate you. The July issue of FELLOWSHIP was excellent. I wish you would continue along the line of Sarah Cleghorn's *Blessing the Animals.* It is very much needed. I wish you would find a good writer who happens to be a vegetarian, like myself, for ethical and humanitarian reasons, who would go one step further to bring out the cruel practice of needless slaughtering and killing. Nature provides us with ample food without our depending on the journey of essential greens and grains through the stomachs of man-bred cattle.

Why not let the followers of Gandhi's and George Bernard Shaw's philosophy write of the basic connections with the militaristic mind and war policies? There will be no real peace before we learn to make peace with the animal world.

MARIE LUISE HUTH
Bethany, W. Va.

Wanted for a New Library in Italy Being Founded by FOR Member

Books in good condition, back copies of magazines such as Time, Life, Nation, Politics, New Republic, Reader's Digest, Harper's, House and Garden, Popular Science, Saturday Evening Post, Theology Today, Christian Century

Complete Sets if possible

Mail to Sando Sarti, c/o Unione Giovanile Valdese, Via Pio V 15, Torino, Italy

. . . And Con

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Having just finished reading Sarah Cleghorn's article, "Blessing the Animals," in my FELLOWSHIP which arrived today, I'm writing immediately to supply a few facts which were not brought out. I am an FOR member, a pacifist, and a Friend by conviction. I have had, and still have, any number of animal friends, anything from dogs and birds to baby skunks, BUT:

The last section in Miss Cleghorn's article, Vivisection Opponents, points out only the irregular sort of experiment and does not tell the reading public of the conditions under which experiments are carried out, and the reasons for which experiments are undertaken on "our animal friends."

Very few persons have the gumption to offer to be human guinea pigs; the CPS men involved in the hunger studies of this last war are exceptional in that respect. Early attempts to correct overactivity of the thyroid gland, and to find the insect responsible for carrying yellow fever, resulted in loss of life by many true "saints," willing to risk all in the hopes that mankind would benefit. Smallpox is almost eradicated in this country, and countless other diseases have been brought under control through the medium of animal experimentation.

Not only man, but also animals themselves have benefited from animal experiments. A trip to the veterinarian can protect any dog from the dread diseases of rabies and distemper. A dog which was brought into the Cornell Veterinary College recently was found to have diabetes, and was given insulin treatment in the same way as any human receives such therapy.

I am not condoning the experiment described in such vivid terms in the article. It may be that improper surgical technique was employed, that the animals were not kept under proper anesthesia, and that the experiment did not add knowledge to that which has accumulated through the centuries. Frankly, I doubt it.

At the moment I am custodian of a dog and a sheep, both experimental animals. They receive the best of care, clean quarters, good food, plenty of water, and opportunity to exercise. In return for their care, they provide us with information as to the way the animal body—and in this I include the human body—functions.

I am not alone in the feeling that the medical profession is vital in our society, and that the Great Physician would applaud the efforts of those who follow that line of endeavor.

ESTHER L. MCCANDLESS
Ithaca, New York

* * *

I regret that the article on "Blessing the Animals" appeared in the July issue of FELLOWSHIP. The anti-vivisection campaign, spearheaded by the Hearst Press, would if successful, stop medical progress and prevent the preparation of many essential drugs now in use.

While I find myself in sympathy with certain parts of the article in question (I do not kill animals for sport), still I am a medical research worker and cannot support the publication of anti-vivisectionist propaganda nor have my name associated with an organization which has done so.

WILLIAM E. STONE
Detroit, Mich.

* * *

I am writing in protest against the anti-vivisection part of the article by Sarah Cleghorn in the July issue. Goodness knows that pacifism, vitally necessary though it is, is already mixed up and cluttered with enough sentimentalism. Why hang the millstone of one more queer "ism" around its neck? How tragic it would be if the idea got around, as it certainly will now that this article is published, that the same people who believe in giving the Negro a decent break and in feeding the hungry in Germany, Italy and Austria are also the sort of folks who are trying to cripple medical research. As Margueritte Harmon Bro well says in another article of the same issue, "Parents (read pacifists) have an even more subtle responsibility, however, in not being any more odd than they need to be."

WILLIAM L. MUTE, JR.
St. Louis, Missouri

Editor's Note

[Several readers have protested the publication of Miss Cleghorn's article as anti-vivisectionist propaganda, and as not a part of the FOR message. Pacifism is a fluid and dynamic movement, seeking out truth in directions that have not been charted in advance, weighing carefully such spiritual perceptions as come to it. It has been the editorial policy of FELLOWSHIP to include from time to time articles that may not represent the opinions of the majority of the FOR membership, but that seem relevant to the basic principles of pacifism and are submitted by sincere and thoughtful pacifists. Such an article was "Blessing the Animals." The anti-vivisectionist point of view is held, I suspect, by a very small minority of the FOR membership, and is not held by any member of the editorial staff. Nevertheless, pacifists are concerned both by the apparent increase in human brutality, and by the widespread slaughter of animal life. There may be no connection between the two, but if a pacifist of Miss Cleghorn's perceptions believes there is, I believe she ought to have the right to say so in a magazine like FELLOWSHIP. The fact that the Hearst press is currently spearheading the anti-vivisectionist drive is the same kind of meaningless coincidence as that the communists and pacifists were at one time both actively opposing American participation in the war.—A.H.]

Pacifist Parents

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was very much pleased to see the article by Mrs. Bro in the July FELLOWSHIP. No doubt there are many pacifist parents who, like myself, are anxious to know more of the attitudes and methods involved in bringing up children to appreciate and understand the pacifist way of life. Do you think it would be possible to run a column or perhaps start a letter or separate monthly sheet which would be circulated among pacifist parents? This column or sheet might carry questions and answers on problems parents suggest. Mrs. Bro might be a very good editor for such a column or letter.

MRS. H. I. JUMP
Newton, N. J.

Some new books and pamphlets for the Fall

A CRISIS OF CULTURE: the USSR and the West
John MacMurray's analysis of conflict in meaning of democracy and freedom 10c

QUAKERS AND PEACE
Ruth Freeman's condensation of "The Quakers in Peace and War" by Margaret Hirst, and a report on the Quakers in World War II. Pacifist Research Bureau 50c

SOCIALIZATION IN GREAT BRITAIN
PRB's study with comparison to other nations and bibliography 50c

OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND
Frank L. Wright, Jr.'s, graphic reports on institutional care of the mentally ill. National Mental Health Foundation... ..... $1.00

DOWN IN MY HEART
By William E. Stafford. Casual events and their deep meaning for men in CPS $1.00

THE END IS NOT YET
By Fritz von Unruh. A pacifist writes of Nazi Europe and the soldier with the Christ-like face. Storm $3.50

THE ILIAD; or the Poem of Force
Simone Weil's penetrating discussion of the effect of force on the lives of the men and women in Homer's Iliad. Politics 25c

CELLS FOR PEACE
By Douglas Steere. A revision of "The Peace Team." Organization and nurture of cells seeking a balanced program of prayer, study and action .. 15c

READING LIST FOR THE LIFE OF PRAYER
A six-page leaflet with classified reading suggestions. .... Single copies free, write for quantity prices.

Fellowship Publication
2929 Broadway New York 25, N. Y.

They Pushed JIM CROW Off Fourteen Southern Buses!

Sixteen young men—eight Negro and eight white—traveled interracially through the upper South this last Spring spreading word of non-violent direct action in race relations and the Supreme Court's decision declaring segregation in interstate travel unconstitutional.

Their many victories over prejudice and discrimination plus their twelve arrests make exciting reading in

We Challenged Jim Crow

A Report on the Journey of Reconciliation

By GEORGE HOUSER and BAYARD RUSTIN

Order your copy now — 16 pp. 15c

Also about non-violent direct action

They Saw Gandhi

By JOHN S. HOYLAND

Introduction by John Haynes Holmes

How Gandhi, both in South Africa and India, applies non-violent direct action to improving the economic, social and political conditions of the common people. His leadership has not only taught his people to work together non-violently, but won a promise of freedom for India as well ..... Cloth edition $1.75

Ready for Christmas!

Not As The World Giveth

A second volume of meditations by

PHILIPPE VERNIER

Translated from the French by Edith Lovejoy Pierce, these meditations have been selected from French editions and unpublished manuscripts of Philippe Vernier ..... Cloth edition $1.50

A List of Favorites -Old and New

ONE HOPE OF PEACE

Norman Thomas writes of universal disarmament under international control as an answer to those who would have peace in an armed world ... 15c

GOD'S BOYCOTT OF SIN

Rachel H. King's study of the doctrine of Hell in relation to pacifism. Introduction by Nels. F. S. Ferré .. .. Cloth $2, Paper $1.25

NOW IS THE TIME TO PREVENT A THIRD WORLD WAR

Kirby Page analyzes the origins of two world wars and what we must do if we would avoid atomic war .... Cloth $2.50, Paper $1

CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

Instructions from the spiritual writings of Francois Fénelon (1651-1715), translated by Mildred W. Stillman $1.75

ENDS AND MEANS

Aldous Huxley on the nature of ideals and methods used for their realization in international politics, war, education, religion, and ethics .. .. Cloth $2.50

WHITE CORPUSCLES IN EUROPE

Allen Hunter's dramatic stories of five men and women who put non-violent good will into action .... Cloth 75c

A BROTHER IS A STRANGER

Toru Matsumoto and Marion O. Lerrigo tell the story of a young Japanese who fought oppression by his government and his older brother in Japan and in America..Cloth $3.50

THE PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHY

Aldous Huxley draws on the wisdom of the ages to find the common denominator for a faith for today .... Cloth $3

Please write orders on separate sheets—don't let them get lost in other matters.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION — 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.